/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.

881 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
18 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
562 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[991] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and
[561] perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation Nemondýiá. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination odjekóaku, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

/95 cont./

[881] The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May,
[782] /90/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Be-
[829] cause they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambaí.

[756] Preliminarily the ñanderú chooses and teaches the kuitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently
[792] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjékoaku) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the ñanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the ñanderú lets them go, it is the ñanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in
[262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy
[752] nourishes himself on ripe bacanas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior
[304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they
[262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the
[752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A
[864] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence: if she sleeps with a man, the food would
[562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman,
[304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *paié*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *arapá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guano* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takuapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the man, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takuapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[14]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapúi*. The *tapúi*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[14] Cf. Ihering, 1935, pp. 181 ff.

[15] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupí-Guaraní peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupí-Guaraní also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*paʼí*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *paʼí*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapaí* of the *paʼí*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupí-Guaraní, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Nandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*paʼí*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Herrández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary translated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *paʼí*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *paʼí*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *paʼí* was judged and rated as a *paʼí guasú* ("great shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *paʼí* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could often seriously oppose the word of a *paʼí guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[46] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *paʼí* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *paʼí* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *paʼí* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *paʼí* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *paʼí* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *paʼí* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

[46] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brasilians.

The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is neutral. They do not themselves catechise the Indians as a part of the policy of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[122] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphanage and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[122] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

little beyond casual inspection and brief questioning of the local officers. Taquapiri has a *capitão* and a *sargento*, in part selected and by necessity approved by the *encarregado*.[158] *Sargento* and *capitão* have tacitly understood, though quite limited, authority and prerogatives now but no pay, badge of office, nor other special considerations. If any difficulty arises which could not conceivably die of its own accord, the *encarregado* may be compelled to intervene; otherwise, he might not even hear of it or would choose to ignore the report. The *encarregado* of "Benjamin Constant" stated in 1943 that he had not been visited by nor himself gone to see the chief of the region of which his post is an administrative part for a considerable number of years. All in all, the policy of the SPI toward the Cayuá is largely a passive or negative one, at least in its net effect. Certainly no program was in evidence which was calculated to introduce large-scale, consciously directed change. That undirected change of significance may come about in any case, however, is quite evident from the visible results of SPI activity or lack of it.

By far the most important single channel of acculturational influence at the present is the practice of local settlers to employ Cayuá to work for them in their clearings (*rozas*) as "peons" (*peões*). The employment of Indians is not necessarily linked to any large-scale activity which makes it indispensable for the settlers to have more labor than their own families provide but is partly related to prestige factors in the local Neo-Brazilian culture.[159] At any rate, the practice results in a larger number of contacts between Neo-Brazilians and Cayuá (men) and for longer periods of time than any other of the gamut of local white-Indian relations. Although great intimacy could hardly be claimed for the relations of *peão* and *patrão*, they are at least as intimate as any others between Cayuá and settler. The *peão-patrão* relationship is discussed in detail under a subsequent heading (see pp. 75–78), but it may be emphasized here that men are almost exclusively involved in these inter-ethnic relations. At Taquapiri only a handful of men speak Portuguese with any proficiency, and many speak it not at all. But there is not a single woman in the village who can speak Portuguese (or Spanish) except for a few loan-words, mostly borrowed along with the alien culture traits to which they refer.[160] Thus among the Cayuá, as in many places elsewhere in the world, where comparable acculturational situations have occurred, the women are perforce the cultural conservators.

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[158] The use of these titles, largely as honorific appellations, seems to derive from the early colonial period when the Europeans sought to curry favor with certain individuals by thus flattering them.

[159] Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945, pp. 159–160.

[160] The same acculturational differences between men and women may not everywhere be as great among Cayuá, but the condition generally holds.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokué* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokué*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokué*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and machetes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakué*. Corn, especially, is always planted with the *sarakué*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in the log and stump-strewn *kokué*. The *sarakué* is primarily, if not exclusively, an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern housebuilding. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board" made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapiri*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbaraká*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbokói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

464 Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
648 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
[465] of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay
is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
[191] types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the
Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are
[177] those who work in *changa*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of
[562] acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to
give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Taquapiri woman speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the longer
464 standing relationships of *peão* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the same *peão*
466 works consistently for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *peão* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *peão* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the peon's best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "*índio bom*," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptise" the children of the *peão*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Taquapiri who consistently work in *changa* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *changa* but do not work as constantly for any one *patrão*. As the time of year approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *peões* are more likely to go out looking for *changa* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Peões* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employers.

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.
881
562 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, besides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] them on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
[431] that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[196] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March, the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large communal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
[869] there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they receive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the administration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
[352] it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[784] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[843] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
[824] ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
[184] number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[304] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
[753] lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[262] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[824] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays, however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
[594] social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
place it establishes a new series of social relations for the individuals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place, the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elementary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Caingué* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical Instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [718] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingué*. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingué*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingué* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [212]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingué* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingué* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [718] [710] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Phyxurus* sp.). Modern *Caingué* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 176 273